UNITED NATIONS

General Assembly

FORTY-FIFTH SESSION

Official Records

FIRST COMMITTEE
45th meeting
held on
Tuesday, 27 November 1990
at 10 a.m.
New York

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 45th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. RANA (Nepal)

CONTENTS

- General debate, consideration of and action on draft resolutions on international security agenda items

- Report of the Economic and Social Council (chapter III, section D)

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Distr. GENERAL
A/C.1/45/PV.45
6 December 1990
ENGLISH

90-63274 3422V (E)

best copy available

The meeting was called to order at 10.45 a.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 68, 69, 70 AND 12 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE, CONSIDERATION OF AND ACTION ON DRAFT RESOLUTIONS ON INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AGENDA ITEMS

REPORT OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL (chapter III, section D)

Mr. GAXHOLLI (Albania) (interpretation from French): This year, our consideration of the agenda items on international security is taking place in the context of the dynamic events that have occurred in the international arena regarding the maintenance and strengthening of peace, which are in keeping with the people's wish to prevent confrontation and to live in peace and prosperity.

It is true that the international situation has undergone certain positive, encouraging changes that will probably contribute to the strengthening of international peace and security. Nevertheless, the persistence of many problems concerning all aspects of international security is a fact of current international political life. Many of these problems are interrelated, so the solving of one may influence the solving of others. But that does not mean that a problem of international relations can be solved at the expense of, or separate from, others.

The establishment of security and true stability in Europe has been and continues to be an essential element of the foreign policy of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. That is why Albania has expressed its wish to join in the process of European co-operation and security and has indicated its availability and commitment to adopting the principles and the decisions of the forum.

Because of this concern my country attaches importance to developments in the process of Balkan co-operation. In our view that process is of even greater

(Mr. Gaxholli, Albania)

importance viewed within the framework of developments under way in the world, and particularly in the European continent, of which the Balkan peninsula is a part. If we consider present achievements in the process in the Balkans in various areas we reach the conclusion that it has contributed to consolidating relations among the countries of the region and enriching dialogue, thus helping strengthen security in the area and beyond it. The most recent example of this was the decisions taken at the meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Balkan countries held in Tirana in October this year. As was stressed in the joint communiqué of the meeting, the Ministers reaffirmed their countries' commitment to consolidating and further promoting co-operation in the Balkans in the political, economic, cultural and humanitarian fields.

In the debate on disarmament that has taken place we have considered several aspects of this problem, which is vital to peace and security. We mention this because there is a dialectical link between disarmament and international security. In general terms one cannot speak of strengthening peace and security while the arms race continues, while the arms trade fuels various regional conflicts, and while war machines produce new sophisticated weapons. Stepping up the arms race directly threatens international security and breeds distrust and confrontation among various countries.

READEX FICHE

(Mr. Gaxholli, Albania)

The progress in disarmament achieved in Europe and between the two super-Powers has been welcomed by the international community, because such progress can have a major influence on international security world wide. But what has been achieved is not yet sufficient; the disarmament process must become irreversible and encompass all countries and every region of our planet.

Many areas of regional conflict have existed and continue to exist. In addition to the victims they claim and the destruction they cause, such conflicts are a direct threat to international peace and security. Seeking a just and lasting settlement of those conflicts would be a genuine contribution to strengthening peace and security. We must commend the efforts made by many countries in certain regions to settle their disputes through dialogue and understanding. They set examples to be encouraged. Peace and security require that we do everything possible to ensure that the situation does not deteriorate. Otherwise, the outbreak of a local conflict could engulf the region concerned and serve as a casus belli for foreign intervention.

In analysing recent events in the Gulf region, Africa, Latin America and the Middle East one reaches the conclusion that the process of easing tensions and achieving true security is a delicate task, requiring the participation and contribution of the whole international community, being the responsibility of all. In the conditions of today's world it is therefore necessary to ensure the participation of all States, large and small, in the handling and development of international relations.

In this context, the United Nations plays, as it must, a special role. Security, détente and the maintenance of peace have rightly been major concerns of our Organization. In our view, the potential and resources of the United Nations should be used more, and more effectively, to attain the goals of international peace and security.

Mr. SILOVIC (Yugoslavia): The cold war, which burdened international relations, particularly those between the two super-Powers and their alliances, is receding into history. And there is some justice in the way, and place, in which it is being done: its demise was started, and is unfolding, in Europe, the continent where it began and which it divided 40-odd long years ago.

Since the last session of the General Assembly there have been momentous changes in relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, which have had a profound impact on relations between European States themselves. At the level of practical policy it has had a salubrious effect indeed. Arms, both nuclear and conventional, have been reduced; co-operation and the search for common interests have intensified continent-wide; and Europe has seen the rise of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE), the process designed to encapsulate and institutionalize the specific forms of its "togetherness".

These changes have been reflected world wide; international relations are increasingly based on co-operation and dialogue. Confrontation is being superseded by partnership and co-operation, and dialogue on a wide range of issues is becoming the order of the day. That things are not as they used to be is perhaps best evidenced by the position taken by both the United States of America and the Soviet Union in the Security Council in condemning the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait, in the request for Iraq's immediate and unconditional withdrawal and in the imposition of sanctions.

Changes in Europe, particularly in Central and Eastern Europe, epitomized by the pulling down of the Berlin Wall and the subsequent unification of Germany, have greatly contributed to the creation of a new European architecture as well. These developments have not only accounted for the deconstruction of bloc alliances, but have also brought into question the reason for their very existence. Within that

(Mr. Silovic, Yugoslavia)

context, the CSCE process has been strengthened and is increasingly becoming the moderator of all European processes: political, economic, social or humanitarian.

Europe has benefited from other, as it were, parallel processes: regional and subregional integration of its States aimed at further strengthening security, co-operation and confidence. My country has been involved in various forms of such co-operation, the most prominent being the co-operation between Balkan countries and that within the Pentagonale and the Mediterranean. Since my delegation has already presented its views on the Mediterranean, I shall refrain from repeating them.

Exactly a month ago a meeting of Foreign Ministers of Balkan countries was held in Tirana in Albania. In their Joint Communiqué the Ministers stressed that

> "A stable Balkans, which is advancing on the course of current developments, is a factor of peace and security for the entire Mediterranean region and Europe." (A/45/701, p. 4)

The Pentagonale is a specific and novel form of linking countries from the shores of the Mediterranean up to Central Europe within the CSCE process, a grouping that by its composition transcends the barriers that divided those countries in the past.

Nevertheless, overcoming the consequences of the cold war in Europe will require much more effort. The positive changes in political relations will still have to be translated into better economic relations, particularly bridging the economic gap that runs along the former bloc fault lines, a problem that will have to be addressed sooner rather than later.

Furthermore, the resurgence of ethnic assertiveness, compounded by the existing minority problems in practically all European countries, is often manifested in strong disintegrative tendencies, and sometimes even threatens Europe's existing borders.

(Mr. Silovic, Yugoslavia)

The cessation of the cold war, with its imminent confrontation and conflicts, brought about positive movement in a number of crisis spots, such as Central America, Namibia, South Africa, Angola, Afghanistan, Western Sahara and Cambodia. Yet the entire complex of these positive changes, in Europe or elsewhere, has been set back by the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait. The crisis in the Gulf, out of place in the prevailing international circumstances, is fraught with multiple dangers to peace in this region and beyond, and every effort must be made to resolve it. How we grapple with this emergency will be of great importance for the future of international relations and will be a litmus test for the role of the United Nations in the new international environment. For the crisis has shown that one country may still threaten international peace, but that the responsibility for the preservation of peace must increasingly rest on all, and that the entire international community has not only the duty to maintain and strengthen it, but an interest in doing so.

At their Ministerial Meeting in New York last October, the non-aligned countries condemned the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait, supported the Security Council resolutions requesting its unconditional withdrawal and restoration of Kuwait's legitimate Government and its territorial integrity, and called for the release of all hostages and for continued efforts to resolve the Gulf crisis by peaceful means.

(Mr. Silovic, Yugoslavia)

As the current Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, Yugoslavia has striven, so far without evident success, to render its contribution towards the realization of these goals. We therefore follow the continued efforts by the Security Council, particularly by its five permanent members, with great expectations and interest.

In that connection we must not disregard that the crisis in the Gulf is in immediate proximity to the complex situation in the Middle East. This problem has been with us for decades now, and its solution calls for firm resolve on the part of the entire international community to come to grips with it. Although it must be clearly recognized that the solutions of these two crises are not conditional on each other, there is no denying that there is a relationship between them.

Apart from its negative effect on the overall positive developments in the world, the crisis in the Gulf has had immediate repercussions for international economic relations as well, particularly for the economic situation of developing countries.

It has certainly not helped the problem of global development, one of the main causes of instability, either. The prospects for global development depend a great deal on how we tackle macro-economic issues. The long-sought-after stability of the world will evade us as long as these issues are not addressed by collective political action. This is equally true for Europe, for other regions and globally.

There are a number of other equally important issues, the solution of which would contribute greatly to the strengthening of international security and the overall progress of humankind. These include environment, climate change, demography, present and future sources of energy and the transfer of modern technology. We trust, however, that they will be addressed properly in the age of rapid progress in science and technology and that their application will be for

(Mr. Silovic, Yugoslavia)

peaceful purposes. After all, the most potent force in breaking up the hard mould of the Procrustean bed of reality that often encases man's spirit has always been his creative urge to change the established order of things. And it is the bounden duty of those who are better off and have more resources to put their determination and capacities behind this noble endeavour.

We seem to have hit a crossroads in mankind's development. Positive developments in the world must be used to serve the establishment of a new, quite different approach to all global problems, including the efficient prevention of aggression, the safeguarding of the territorial integrity of all countries and more balanced development that will bring about full stability.

Europe has made a first step by moving along the road traced by its Conference on Security and Co-operation. Yet we must strive to make the visions and structures of a comprehensive system of security embracing development, disarmament and human rights a reality the world over.

Mr. NGUYEN DUC HUNG (Viet Nam): My delegation wishes to speak on agenda items related to international security.

All nations are sovereign and independent, but at present, as never before, the common problems and challenges of our time have very evidently transcended the borders of individual States. No one country can solve these problems alone. No one State can organize global security, dominate the global economy or determine the course of political affairs. To deal with the problems of the world, nations will have to co-operate and establish stronger forms of international order.

With regard to security, true security is a broader and more complex concept than protection from arms and war. The roots of conflicts and insecurity include poverty, economic disparities within nations and between them, oppression and the denial of fundamental freedoms. Unless problems of social and economic

(Mr. Nguyen Duc Hung, Viet Nam)

underdevelopment are addressed, common security can never truly be attained.

New threats to security are also emerging from environmental problems and the degradation of certain ecosystems. Poverty itself can lead to internal and external conflict. Peace and security, which have been proclaimed as primary international goals, cannot therefore be fully realized unless peoples and nations are released from the trap of poverty through real development. In fact, far more people in the world today suffer from economic insecurity than from military insecurity. Co-operation for common security is unlikely in a world where many poor countries face extremely serious debt obligations, decreasing resources for economic development and widening disparities between rich and poor. There can be no lasting peace and security in the world without the solution of international economic problems, particularly those of the developing countries, and without ensuring the sustained growth and development of the world economy.

Common security imposes global obligations to do away with economic insecurity no less than political conflict and war. International hostilities and suspicions derived from decades of warfare and conflict cannot be abolished overnight. But with the continued concerted efforts of the entire world community, common security can be translated from an idea, a concept, into the common condition of human beings everywhere.

Conflict resolution and management presuppose the political determination of the parties in situations of conflict to abandon war as a means of settlement and to embark instead on a peaceful course. Of the various methods of conflict resolution, management or prevention, it is the confidence-building approach that holds the greatest promise. Through the building of a system of political accommodation, neighbouring countries can gradually retreat from confrontational relationships.

(Mr. Nguyen Duc Hung, Viet Nam)

My delegation highly appreciates and supports all efforts aimed at promoting confidence-building measures at regional and subregional levels in order to ease tensions and strengthen peaceful co-operation and friendship among nations. My delegation fully shares the remarks made by the Secretary-General of the United Nations in his annual report of 1990 on the work of the Organization:

> "To build peace and create conditions of stability in the world of the 1990s will require innovative responses to security challenges of a type radically different from those encountered in the past." (A/45/1, p. 15)

The decades of political confrontation are over. Our world today is that of competition and co-operation in peaceful coexistence. We also realize that today we live in a state of interdependence between nations. We need our neighbours, as our neighbours need us. Would it therefore be appropriate to say that the time has come for concerted endeavours in promoting common security and establishing a dialogue of economic co-operation for the sake of the prosperity and stability of nations regionally and the world over?

(Mr. Nguyen Duc Hung, Viet Nam)

As we stand at the threshold of the twenty-first century, the tireless efforts for peace, national independence, development and social progress are bound to be carried forward successfully, thus enabling future generations to enjoy lasting peace and rise to new heights of human civilization.

To strive for the sake of our children's future and the education of our future generations - such was the greatest goal of our late President Ho Chi Minh throughout his whole life. True to his ideal, we pledge to do our utmost to strengthen friendship with other nations in the world and to contribute to the common cause of peace and security of the world, thus turning to the new millennium in our firm belief in the bright future of peace, development and a happy life on our planet.

Mr. TRAXLER (Italy): I have the honour to speak today, on behalf of the 12 member States of the European Community, on items 68, 69 and 70 of the agenda, concerning international security.

The maintenance of international security is an essential purpose of our Organization, the very reason for its existence.

At the time that the United Nations Charter came into existence, the international community had just witnessed the horrors of the most terrible and destructive war ever waged by mankind. It was in the wake of that tragic experience and as a result of so much suffering that the ideals concerning a just and peaceful world society found a new structured expression in the United Nations.

The 45 years which have elapsed since then prove that a gradual improvement in international security is by no means a remote ideal, but rather an achievable goal. The progress registered in this respect, especially in most recent years, has resulted in a widely improved international climate and in the ever growing effectiveness of this Organization.

(Mr. Traxler, Italy)

As Italian Foreign Minister De Michelis said in his statement on behalf of the Twelve in the general debate,

"This is the first General Assembly of the new world emerging from the lengthy post-war period". (A/45/PV.6, p. 26)

It is a new world, first of all, for the radically different relations between the once opposed super-Powers and between East and West. Allow me to refer to resolution 2734 (XXV) of 1970, which is at the root of our debate on international security, and to resolution 44/21 adopted by the General Assembly on this topic in 1989, which reflected the dramatic changes that have taken place in the last few years.

Historians indeed may one day refer to the following landmarks on the road towards international security and co-operation: the Helsinki Final Act of 1975, which started the process on a continental scale, the Stockholm Concluding Document of 1986, establishing confidence- and security-building measures for disarmament in Europe; the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles (INF Treaty) of 1987, widely regarded as the watershed between the cold war and the emergence of a new pattern of relations among States, a goal that has not yet been fully reached, but an achievement we cannot but strive for.

On a personal basis I should also like to recall the Concluding Document of the Vienna Meeting, if only because I spent two and a half years negotiating it, which anticipated and legitimized all the changes that took place afterwards and evidenced more than at any other time during the process of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) the strict interrelationship between respect for human rights and collective security.

New milestones have recently been added. German unity is the paramount symbol of this emerging resolve to live in peace and friendship. The Agreement on Conventional Forces in Europe provides for drastic reductions in a framework of

(Mr. Traxler, Italy)

strength and confidence at a continental level. The "Charter of Paris for a New Europe" signed on 21 November 1990 at the Summit Meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, which will be distributed as an official document of the United Nations, consecrated the following principles cherished by the European peoples:

> "steadfast commitment to democracy based on human rights and fundamental freedoms, prosperity through economic liberty and social justice; and equal security for all countries".

The Twelve believe that such developments would not have been forthcoming without the blossoming of democracy and the confirmation of the rule of law in many countries with all its implications for individual fulfilment and collective prosperity, as well as for social progress. The rule of law and democracy are the paramount guarantees of respect for the human person. Without the advancement of human rights and fundamental freedoms achieved throughout much of the world during the last few years, it might not have been possible to see such a dramatic enhancement of international security as we have today. Stressing their conviction that the protection and promotion of human rights is the first responsibility of Governments, the Twelve have always maintained that their effective exercise is inseparable from the pursuit of international peace and security.

Thus the beneficial relationship between the development of individual freedoms and the expansion of security has been demonstrated by the most recent experience in Europe. It is our aspiration that such a process will continue unabated, leading to a new dimension in multilateral relations, featuring increased understanding and solidarity among States and entailing even greater progress in the strengthening of respect for human rights, international security, arms control and economic development.

(Mr. Traxler, Italy)

The Twelve believe that peace and security can be achieved only through full observance of the principles set out in the Charter and of other relevant obligations of international law. They wish to recall the primary responsibility of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security, as well as the obligations of all Member States to implement its relevant resolutions.

Sadly though, the international community observed with dismay and condemned Iraq's recent and brutal aggression against and its invasion and occupation of, Kuwait, an independent Member of the United Nations. It is essential to overcome this obstacle in the path to a more peaceful and secure world. In fact, the tide of history is flowing against brutal resort to force in order to resolve differences and disputes.

The firm international reaction to the invasion of Kuwait has in turn served to enhance the moral and political authority of our Organization at a moment when there is a clear need for a universal point of reference.

In the new, improved international climate, the United Nations organs and mechanisms are showing an ever increasing effectiveness in facing crises, a fact which gives rise to new expectations. The latest exception to the conciliatory mood prevailing in most of the world does not detract from the evident progress of international security elsewhere.

For two decades the Twelve have campaigned in support of the fundamental rules of international behaviour. They now have the satisfaction of perceiving that such values are indeed more widely shared.

(Mr. Traxler, Italy)

In this context the role of the United Nations has been of paramount importance to all countries. The United Nations approach has strengthened the conviction that there is no alternative to dialogue in dealing with international problems. Furthermore, the coherent action of the United Nations has demonstrated that it constitutes an essential instrument for maintaining and restoring peace, justice and freedom.

Through the Security Council and the Secretary-General, in particular, the United Nations is increasingly responding to the need for a worldwide crisis-management system suitable for preventing the expansion of formerly unavoidable and destabilizing emergencies. The Twelve wish to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for the patient and effective initiatives he has undertaken, with the untiring support of his staff, for the peaceful solution of controversies as well as for the prevention of conflicts. In this respect the recent remarkable success of the United Nations peace-keeping operations and their encouraging future prospects have inspired new confidence throughout the community of nations.

The Twelve will continue to assess the effectiveness of the functioning of the United Nations in the context of the new political reality of a world where the interdependence of States is becoming more and more of a permanent feature. The Twelve believe that there are areas of activity where the United Nations, given the political will of Member States, has untapped potential for achievement.

We should also bear in mind that nowadays some threats to security tend to take a subtler and somewhat more devious form than in the past. A particularly insidious form of threat derives from the spread of advanced technology when it leads to the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery. Furthermore, there should be greater transparency in the trade in conventional weapons, not least to prevent the illegal activities frequently

(Mr. Traxler, Italy)

connected with it, such as drug-trafficking and terrorism. In all these areas the Twelve intend to contribute to a wider awareness of the problem and to the achievement of increased transparency.

The experience in Europe has shown that increased transparency represents an essential step towards what the Charter of Paris describes as

"a new perception of security in Europe and a new dimension in European relations",

based on a common effort to strengthen confidence and security and to promote arms control and disarmament. The Twelve consequently welcome the unprecedented Agreement on Conventional Forces in Europe signed at Paris on the occasion of the summit meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE), as well as new approaches to substantial confidence- and security-building measures, which will contribute to strengthening stability and security in Europe.

The practice of long years of debate on the issues relevant to international security and the experience of ever-more-intensive arms control negotiations have thrown a clearer light on the relevance of their regional dimension. Taking into account the specificity of regional conditions, neighbouring countries may now find it more effective to launch a local process of dialogue and negotiation, with improved chances of early success in a step-by-step approach to security issues.

That has, in fact, been the experience of the CSCE process that has just celebrated its fifteenth anniversary in a context giving particular satisfaction to all participating States and their peoples. A new era of democracy, peace and unity is dawning throughout Europe, thanks to the political will of the countries involved to keep that regional forum operational even when their relations were at their lowest ebb.

As a matter of fact, the CSCE experience has helped generate a radical change on the European continent. The Paris summit meeting of the 34 Heads of State or

(Mr. Traxler, Italy)

Government marked the end of the cold war. A substantial set of commitments has put a lasting seal on the new state of affairs among the participating States. Among the essential criteria for the future, multi-party democracy, respect for human rights and encouragement of private initiative have been set out. The Paris summit meeting has laid the foundation for the new Europe and for advancement unprecedented in the long history of our continent and fully within the scope of the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

The European Community has established its own economic and political identity and has emerged as an influential factor for change and for civil, social and economic progress. At the same time, the Community has always refused to consider itself bounded by the protection of its own interests. It has, instead, always strongly felt that the security of each and all of its member States is linked as much to that of the rest of Europe as it is to that of the other regions of the world. The Twelve have therefore wholeheartedly adhered to the commitment made at the Paris summit to

> "solidarity with all other countries, standing ready to join with any and all States in common efforts to protect and advance the community of fundamental human values."

Dialogue and integration are the best answers to security problems at both the global and the regional levels. The Twelve trust that serious efforts to that end will be undertaken at every regional level, making use of whatever valid precedent can be drawn from the experience of others.

The Twelve welcome proposals made by Mediterranean nations to increase co-operation in that region. It is worthwhile to endeavour to disseminate in the Mediterranean principles and measures capable of enhancing stability and security and of encouraging economic and social progress.

(Mr. Traxler, Italy)

The idea that each State needs to achieve self-sufficiency in an essentially hostile environment should be definitely rejected. Assertion of national interests at the cost of others is contrary to the norms of contemporary security, which is based on co-operation on the basis of shared values rather than on mere historical and geographical factors.

I should like to end my statement on behalf of the twelve members of the European Community by expressing the hope that a similar concept may soon prevail throughout the world. International peace and security would then cease to be a matter of deep concern to Governments and to peoples and would finally represent a guaranteed and irreversible acquisition of the whole of mankind.

The CHAIRMAN: I should like to inform the Committee that tomorrow afternoon, Wednesday, 28 November, the Committee will take decisions on the draft resolutions submitted under agenda item 67 - namely, draft resolutions A/C.1/45/L.63/Rev.2 and A/C.1/45/L.64/Rev.1.

I should also like to inform the Committee that the deadline for the submission of draft resolutions under agenda items 68, 69 and 70 is 6 p.m. today.

The meeting rose at 11.30 a.m.

UNITED NATIONS

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FORTY-FIFTH SESSION

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FIRST COMMITTEE
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VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 46th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. RANA (Nepal)

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- General debate, consideration of and action on draft resolutions on international security agenda items [68, 69, 70 and 12] (continued)

Report of the Economic and Social Council

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Distr. GENERAL
A/C.1/45/PV.46
6 December 1990
ENGLISH

90-63286 3451V (E)

The meeting was called to order at 10.45 a.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 68, 69, 70 AND 12 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE, CONSIDERATION OF AND ACTION ON DRAFT RESOLUTIONS ON INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AGENDA ITEMS

REPORT OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL (chapter III, section D)

Mr. VASILYEV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): Allow me first to congratulate you, Sir, on your introductory comments describing the present situation in the world, which entails a new approach to ensuring international security and emphasizes the need for the participation of all States in creating a new concept of security. We would also like to express our gratitude to Under-Secretary-General Vasiliy S. Safronchuk for his constructive contribution to the work of the First Committee.

Twenty years ago the General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, which proved to be an outstanding event in the life of the international community. Time has demonstrated that the principles of the development of international relations laid down in that Declaration in strict compliance with the United Nations Charter are not theoretical and isolated from reality but have great practical potential. That potential is beginning to make itself fully felt now that the world is acquiring new characteristics and the cold war is being replaced by a new era in international relations. Europe has finally dealt with and finished the Second World War. The elimination of an entire category of nuclear weapons has become a fact. Very soon there will be an agreement between the USSR and the United States on the reduction of strategic nuclear weapons. We are seeing ever more realistic manifestations of the desire of the international community for the banning and elimination of chemical weapons. Over the past year real progress has been made in resolving regional conflicts by political means.

(Mr. Vasilyev, Byelorussian SSR)

An event of crucial historical importance was the summit meeting in Paris last week of States participating in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE). The results of that meeting and the documents signed at it bear witness to the fact that the foundations were laid in Paris of a new European edifice. In the Paris Charter for a New Europe the Heads of State and Government of the countries participating in the CSCE declare:

"With the ending of the division in Europe we shall strive to give a new quality to our relations in the sphere of security, with full respect for the freedom of choice retained by each in this area. Security is indivisible, and the security of each State party is indissolubly linked with the security of all individual States parties. Therefore we are committed to co-operating to strengthen mutual trust and security and promote control over arms and disarmament."

It is hard to overestimate the contribution of the Paris meeting to the establishment of universal security or the significance of the agreements signed by 22 European States concerning the unprecedented reduction of conventional armaments on the continent and non-aggression. In the Paris Charter, the European States undertook a number of important political commitments, including commitments to the United Nations, which open up new horizons of co-operation.

The Byelorussian SSR is paying close attention to the development of the processes on the European continent, since it sees in the idea of a common European home a guarantee of the security of its own future. The attainment of the objective of a non-nuclear, neutral status for Byelorussia, as proclaimed by the republic, is possible only within the framework of the construction of that home. That is why Byelorussia intends to participate actively in building that home and making the continent a shared economic, ecological, cultural, legal and information area. For this reason, the results of the summit meeting in Paris were welcomed

(Mr. Vasilyev, Byelorussian SSR)

with particular satisfaction in our republic. We believe that the common European process will take into account in its further development the new European political realities being formed on the basis of the free choice of the peoples. The significance of this permeates the Paris Charter, including the excerpt that we have just read out.

We agree with the Secretary-General that

"the larger - and saner - concept of security, encompassing all its dimensions, which has begun to emerge is precisely the one the United Nations has been expounding all through the years." (A/45/1, p. 2)

There can be no doubt that a positive role in the development of this process was played by the well-known initiative of the East European countries concerning a comprehensive approach to international security. One of the fundamental objectives of that initiative was to promote in the United Nations a broad international dialogue concerning ways and means of ensuring security, which would allow us to embark upon practical action and plan substantive measures to achieve that goal.

The submission to the last session of the General Assembly of the joint Soviet-American initiative on enhancing international peace, security and co-operation, and the consequent adoption by consensus of the corresponding resolution, constituted an exceptionally important event. And although very many serious obstacles remain to be overcome, there is an effort to establish a new standard of international dialogue in the United Nations characterized by the businesslike discussion of long-standing problems.

Important evidence of the existence in the United Nations of a general consensus on this issue was provided by the fact that more than 40 States broadly representative of the major political forces in the world today became sponsors of the Soviet-American resolution.

(Mr. Vasilyev, Byelorussian SSR)

The Soviet-American joint statement of 3 October 1990, entitled "Responsibility for Peace and Security in the Changing World" (A/45/598, annex) is of substantive significance for the carrying out of the practical role of the United Nations in this new world. Among other things this document expresses the aspiration of the USSR and the United States of America to co-operation with all Members of the United Nations in increasing the efforts of the United Nations to strengthen international peace and security in all its aspects through improving the way the United Nations functions in establishing and maintaining peace.

A significant number of ideas aimed at comprehensive development of the peace-making potential of the United Nations is contained in the memorandum by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of 10 October 1990, entitled "The United Nations in the post-confrontation world" (A/45/626), which proposes the formation, with a central role for the United Nations, of an integral strategy of global partnership for the 1990s and the beginning of the next century.

At the same time, the establishment of a new process on a global scale is not easy. In this connection, Byelorussia shares the great concern aroused throughout the world by the events in the Persian Gulf where Iraq has committed unprovoked aggression and annexed a neighbouring sovereign State. The Charter of the United Nations and universally recognized norms of international law have thus been trampled under foot. The most dangerous possibility is that these events, even if they do not destroy the embryonic new system of world relations, could condemn it to a long-standing freeze, with incalculable consequences. This danger is certainly recognized, and gives an additional impetus to the efforts to counteract the actions of the aggressor. The quick and effective reaction of the international community and the unprecedented solidarity of the members of the Security Council demonstrated during the crisis are in our view promising signs for

(Mr. Vasilyev, Byelorussian SSR)

the establishment of a secure future both in that region and throughout the world. We hope that at tomorrow's meeting, in which Foreign Ministers will participate, the Security Council will determine the correct way to resolve the crisis and take advantage of the full potential of the measures provided for in the Charter before military action becomes inevitable.

As representatives of various countries have already emphasized in their statements, universal security is not a matter of military and political aspects alone. The establishment of a safe world requires a shift to a new structure of international economic relations based on principles of justice and equality, the resolution of the problems of the environment and other global problems, and a further expansion of businesslike, substantive dialogue on social and humanitarian issues.

The positive development of events in Europe and the world as a whole makes the need to establish similar processes in the Mediterranean area even more urgent. We are in favour of careful consideration being given to the well-known initiatives aimed at lessening military confrontation, strengthening trust and developing comprehensive co-operation, with the aim of achieving concrete results.

The changing international situation and the beginning of such international relations in a period of peace require appropriate developments in the United Nations: the development and strengthening of its peace-making role and its transformation into an effective mechanism and a centre for agreement by States on action to resolve important international problems.

The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR is ready to support solutions in this direction designed to promote the building of a secure, non-violent and, in the long run, non-nuclear world.

Mr. PAWLAK (Poland): Nearly 12 years ago the United Nations General Assembly adopted, on Poland's initiative, the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace. Without unduly overrating the significance of the Polish initiative and the role played by the Declaration itself, it seems legitimate to say that the Declaration has given rise to a new current of thought and action whereby the undisturbed and harmonious development of the individual is combined with the promotion of a secure international environment and the peaceful transformation of reality, and is associated with a vision of the future.

The motto of the preparation for life in peace carried a deeper underlying message: to build a peaceful, positive vision of the world and generate the widest possible commitment of societies, particularly the young generation, to making that vision a reality. Many Governments, in their replies submitted to the Secretary-General, described a variety of governmental as well as public efforts which contributed to the idea of the preparation for life in peace and demonstrated the possibility of turning it into reality in a specific external and internal environment.

(Mr. Pawlak, Poland)

The profound changes which have taken place in Poland and in the rest of Europe in the course of the past two years have demonstrated, in new circumstances, the validity of the provisions of the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace. The changes in Poland have not threatened the security of other countries; nor have they disturbed peace in the region. Peace has remained the superior asset, allowing the Polish people to exercise their right to full sovereignty and independence along with the inviolability of other fundamental human rights.

Poland desires to strengthen its ties with Europe as a whole and with its well-established system of values, its love of freedom and respect for human rights, with a Europe which is free from conflicts of bygone days, and which is overcoming its division into poor and rich parts. Poland wishes to become a part of the European and universal system for the protection of human rights and to cherish the common values shared by democratic nations. As the Polish Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Krzysztof Skubiszewski, told the General Assembly last year,

"Morality and respect for the human person remain our highest values".

(A/44/PV.4, p. 78)

The changes of 1989-1990 have prompted a historic redefinition of Poland's relations with its neighbours both to the West and to the East. Supportive of the right of nations to self-determination, Poland has recognized the right of the German nation to unification. At the same time, guided by the supreme interest of assuring the security of the State and the people, and conscious of the importance of the partnerlike Polish-German relations for maintaining peace in Europe, Poland has called for the process of reconciliation and the building of a community of interest between Germany and Poland. Such changes in Polish-German relations will require a profound transformation in the consciousness of the Polish people, who

(Mr. Pawlak, Poland)

still have vivid memories of the Nazi atrocities. That memory notwithstanding, Poland will seek to promote good-neighbourly relations with Germany, to replace the image of a perennial enemy by that of a confidence-inspiring neighbour, and to perceive that country as a partner in the construction of a new system of security in Europe.

Transformations of equal importance have taken place and are still under way in Polish-Soviet relations, which have been subordinated to the universal principles of international law and which bind both sides to respect each other's national interests and constitutional differences; and we are seeking to achieve mutual understanding and reconciliation despite the painful burden of Stalinist crimes that cast their shadow on the latest history of those relations. A major role in reshaping Polish-Soviet relations is played by direct contacts between the people of the two countries, contacts between representatives of various organizations and social movements, and presentations of the most valuable cultural accomplishments of Soviet nationalities. The most important role is played by direct political contacts between Poland and the neighbouring Soviet republics, namely the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic and Lithuania, as well as the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic.

It is extremely important, in forging a new relationship with a country's neighbours, for their respective societies to become more familiar with one another, to understand the differences in their historical development and to understand the essence and causes of those differences in order to abandon established stereotypes and deeply rooted myths. This necessitates a number of tasks concerning the whole process of preparation for life in peace for intellectuals, artists organizations and social movements, all of which have a strong impact on the consciousness of society.

(Mr. Pawlak, Poland)

Many of the social movements and political parties now being formed in Poland desire to promote fundamental human values, to strengthen ties with other nations, to foster positive social attitudes and promote tolerance, while at the same time working to eliminate the upsurge of nationalist sentiments, chauvinism and xenophobia. Indeed, it is understood that the profound changes in Poland and neighbouring countries may also spark some negative emotions the neutralization and elimination of which would confirm a society's culture, its ability to counter adverse phenomena and its respect for fundamental human rights.

Respect for human rights is currently becoming one kof the foremost components of the preparation for life in peace, since - as Pope John Paul II put it - peace, in the final analysis, boils down to respect for the inalienable rights of the human being. The question of human rights is a theme running through Poland's public life, in scholarly publication and in the press. Wider public knowledge of human rights makes it possible to exercise those rights more fully. For this reason a publication has been issued containing a collection of Poland's international commitments in the field of human rights. Organizations and social movements have emerged and are active, among other matters, in the pursuit of the verification of compliance with human rights obligations and countering violations of the latter, as well as in strengthening the guarantees of respect for human rights. A prime champion of this objective has been the Voluntary Committee on Human Rights, established in 1988.

The profound transformations in Poland's social, economic and political life and in its foreign relations were bound to bring about far-reaching changes in the Polish system of social education, which is gradually divesting itself of the rigid corset of the totalitarian burden. The system now emerging is permeated with the spirit of tolerance and respect for different attitudes, views and value systems;

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it is open to the achievements of other cultures and to universal values, offering better conditions for man's self-realization. Such a system is better suited to preparing the younger generations for life in today's unpredictable conditions, in a world of numerous interdependencies, of still unknown challenges and threats to civilization, a world sensitive to other people's needs.

The maintenance and strengthening of international peace and respect for the right to live in peace and for other human rights have been and remain the leitmotiv of actions taken by the Government of the Republic of Poland. This will continue to be a high priority in the future.

The changes that have taken place in international relations since the adoption of the Declaration of the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace, particularly the growing interdependence between countries and the rise of new threats to civilization, have confirmed that implementation of the right to life in peace calls for individuals and nations to foster the spirit of joint responsibility for the peaceful development of the world and the future of civilization, as well as the propagation in society of active and committed attitudes.

(Mr. Pawlak, Poland)

This task cannot be the responsibility of the system of social education alone. It should be pursued by everyone involved in social, political or educational activities. The exchange of ideas and experience between different communities is particularly desirable and should be continued in the future.

The objective of the Decade of International Law proclaimed by the United Nations is to promote international law and establish it more firmly as a factor in international relations. This objective is in full concord with the task my country has set for itself: to strengthen the role of law in Poland's internal and external relations, with the help of appropriate mechanisms, making it possible to translate international law into Polish domestic law.

One of the results of the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace has been the increasing significance of one of the fundamental and most inalienable rights of man and of human communities: the right to life in peace. This particular right ought to be further developed and set in ever more concrete terms.

On behalf of the Government of the Republic of Poland, I wish to thank all those who have contributed to fostering the ideals of the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace and to the implementation of its provisions. We believe that the Declaration adopted 12 years ago has fulfilled its mission. Consequently, Poland submitted yesterday a draft resolution that sums up very briefly the implementation of the Declaration and if adopted would in fact conclude the consideration of this item by the General Assembly. We hope the proposed draft resolution will be adopted by consensus.

Mr. MOUSSA (Egypt): Since 1955, in Bandung, the States of the Non-Aligned Movement have constantly called for adoption of the principles of peaceful coexistence, respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States and a guarantee of the fundamental rights of all peoples as the basis

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for international relations. They have maintained that upholding the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and strictly abiding by them is the only effective measure needed to maintain international peace and security. They have continuously called for an end to be put to the cold war, for the elimination of the confrontation between the two super-Powers and the bipolar system it has created.

Recently, the world took an important step in this direction. Less than a week ago the States members of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) took the historic step of laying the foundations of a security system that replaces obsolete militarist concepts by a system based on the faithful application of the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations as the safeguards for their regional peace and security.

By signing the largest ever disarmament agreement and by laying the foundations for new security structures based on multilateral co-operation rather than bipolar military confrontation and deterrence, and by setting in motion a process of confidence-maintaining consultations and peaceful conflict containment and resolution mechanisms, Europe has thus taken great strides towards the elimination of the means and the reasons for tension and the waging of war in a region that for 45 years has been the primary potential battleground of the two most heavily armed nations ever to exist.

The Paris Conference not only rectifies and readjusts the previous order in Europe but also, and more significantly, paves the way for guaranteeing the protection of its future generations against repeating its tumultuous past.

This European project is a concrete translation of what could be achieved in terms of security and stability as an outcome of the historic transformation in the nature of the relationship between the Soviet Union and the United States. It sets an example of what can be achieved when States faithfully apply the principles that

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should shape the concept of collective security as envisaged in the Charter, thus laying the foundation for the world of tomorrow. It also proves that upholding the commitments undertaken by all States under the Charter of the United Nations and strict abidance by the principles of non-intervention, the inviolability of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations, the peaceful and just resolution of conflicts, the alleviation of injustices and the supremacy of law and fundamental human rights - in particular the right of all people to self-determination - are the only effective measures that guarantee the maintenance of international peace and security. It proves, further, the ineffectiveness of aggressive military concepts, excessive armaments and endless stockpiling of weapons and arms, and it confirms that they are not only unnecessary but are in fact sources of mistrust and tension.

Having fully acknowledged the immense importance of Europe's recent achievements, I must, however, strongly emphasize that the euphoria and exultation about what has been achieved in Europe should not overshadow the fact that this achievement is after all a regional one, and that this new order is not yet a world order.

This, I believe, is the task that lies ahead for the international community, and such is the challenge that we face today: to grasp this opportunity and to invest in this historic climate of co-operation in order to extend the realm of mutual confidence and assurance to all other regions in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter and to find modalities for applying them in a manner compatible with the characteristics of each region in order to build a truly global order among all nations.

For while we celebrate the historic accomplishments in Europe, we are reminded daily that other regions remain far from that peace and security. The Middle East is still engulfed in its own intricate web of tensions and conflicts. The Iraqi

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invasion of Kuwait is a sombre reminder not only of the extreme volatility of the region but also of how susceptible and fragile international security is, given the tremors of the events that take place in it.

I cannot over-emphasize that the region has reached dangerous levels of over-armament and that this must be addressed seriously - quantitatively and qualitatively. The volatility and chronic tension of the region cannot sustain the existence or the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. They should all be addressed with a view to eliminating them totally and for ever from the Middle East. In this regard President Mubarak proposed the establishment of a zone free of weapons of mass destruction in the Middle East.

(Mr. Moussa, Egypt)

We have stressed on several occasions the vitality of the adherence of all the States of the region to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and the safeguarding of their facilities - steps which have already been taken by all the Arab States with significant nuclear programmes.

However, in the effort to achieve and maintain peace and security, such measures - albeit of great importance - address only part of the problem. What remains imperative in helping to create an atmosphere conducive to truly effective security arrangements in the region is not simply to make the region weapon-free, but to make it conflict-free by comprehensive and just resolution of the core problem of the region - the Palestinian question and the continued Israeli occupation of Palestinian and other Arab territories - including, of course, Jerusalem - since 5 June 1967.

Israel must realize, as the Europeans have, that safety lies not in military might but rather in reaching a historic reconciliation with its neighbours - with the Palestinians - in accordance with the provisions of the Charter. Israel must realize now, more than ever, that violence, aggression and maintaining the status quo in the occupied territories will neither safeguard nor enhance its security. Rather, what is needed is for Israel to honour the principles of the supremacy of law, the inviolability of the sovereignty of all States, and the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force and, most of all, for it to allow the Palestinian people to exercise the fundamental right of all peoples to self-determinati n. On the other hand, now that the region is no longer a field of rivalry over influence between the two super-Powers, the international community is duty-bound to seize the opportunity to reach a peaceful and just solution of this core conflict. Only then can there be any hope of peace, security and stability in the Middle East.

(Mr. Moussa, Egypt)

The security of the Middle East is one of the lynchpins of international peace and security. It has a major role to play in its maintenance not only negatively by resolving its own crises and simmering down its tensions, but also positively by actively contributing to the containment and resolution of conflicts in bordering regions. Given the region's centrality, it can be expected to have a role of paramount importance in interregional security arrangements and activities - a requirement for tomorrow's new world. An important step in this direction lies in the Mediterranean Sea basin.

The area of the Mediterranean Sea is unique in that it is a natural demarcation line between one of the most volatile regions and one that is emerging as one of the most stable and secure. The interplay of cultures and civilizations and the linkage of the security of those two regions is an age-old phenomenon that has in many ways shaped the destiny of their peoples as well as that of the entire world.

The initiative launched by Italy and Spain to hold a conference on security and co-operation in the Mediterranean that would encompass the States of both regions overlooking the Mediterranean - along lines similar to those of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) process - has therefore been welcomed by Egypt and the other members of the troika of the Mediterranean non-aligned States. In fact, at this very moment, preparations are under way to hold a high-level meeting of the troika of the non-aligned Mediterranean countries - Algeria, Yugoslavia and Egypt - and the troika of the European Community in Cairo on 2 and 3 December to further promote and pursue this dialogue. We expect to investigate fully with our Mediterranean partners measures that might enhance security and co-operation. We shall work assiduously with the other States concerned towards attainment of this goal.

(Mr. Moussa, Egypt)

Of particular interest and importance in this initiative by Italy and Spain is the recognition of the economic and social inequalities among States as principal reasons for structural instability and sources of tension. This recognition touches on the increasing vital importance of this consideration in addressing security and stability issues between North and South.

The continuing dissolution of the politico-military dimension as our major security concern and the end of politico-ideological bipolarity as the pulling force between East and West, the socio-economic bipolarity between rich and poor, haves and have-nots, must inevitably begin to surface as the primary source of concern and instability. It should be addressed seriously and effectively, not only by the developed countries, but also by the developing countries themselves.

As I stated earlier, much of what has been achieved during the past two years - namely, the end of the cold war and the prevalence of a spirit of co-operation between the two super-Powers towards the realization of the purposes of the Charter as the basis for peace and security - much of that has been the message and purpose of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries since its inception in 1955. Now that this has been achieved, it is imperative for us, its member States, to re-examine the outlook, direction and context of our collective policies in the light of recent developments. Our success in this endeavour is crucial if we are to take an active and effective part in laying down the pillars of the new world and the new order, and its security arrangements.

In conclusion, I come to the role of the United Nations in this unfolding order. During the past few months, the Organization has managed to function and act in a manner consistent with the role envisaged for it by its founders as the mobilizing consensus builder of the international community against aggression and the violation of international law and civilized norms. The successful continuation of this role and the strengthening of the function of the Organization

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as a mechanism for containing conflict and making peace will depend, almost wholly, on how well integrated and involved all Member States - regardless of size, wealth or degree of development - are in the process.

If equality and regional consensus among the peoples of Europe were the corner-stone of its peace and security, then equality and international consensus among all States and peoples are the basis of international peace and security and the United Nations must remain and flourish as the centre-piece of this global consensus.

In this connection the First Committee is also expected to re-examine and reassess its role. Unquestionably, more dialogue is needed. The method by which we examine international security must be looked at again in the light of recent developments. Much has been said about the need to rationalize our work. We have always maintained, and we reiterate, that the key word here is "rationale" - to follow a "rationale" - a rational approach. The re-examination should be of a qualitative, and not of a quantitative, nature. The discussion within the Committee needs to be of a different nature, dealing in depth with the challenges facing us and the ideas submitted here. It should be reinvigorated by allowing for dialogue and for a continuous examination of the basic concepts of security and their merits and the ways and means of enhancing regional and international security in a new world.

We are presented with an historic opportunity to fulfil the dreams and promises of saving future generations from the scourge of war. Let us not lose this opportunity to work together to build a new home, a place of security based on tolerance and peaceful coexistence.

Mr. NAIMI-ARFA (Islamic Republic of Iran): The concept of international security encompasses various major elements, which are mainly enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. The realization of mankind's ideals in the context of disarmament, development and justice, together with the achievement of genuine headway in its sustained campaign for the elimination of racism, Zionism, poverty, aggression and expansionism, will contribute enormously to strengthening international peace and security.

It is needless to emphasize that the profound developments in East-West relations have indeed provided a unique opportunity for the international community to build on previous achievements and to develop new approaches and measures to guarantee and promote global peace and security in all its aspects. In this connection, the Islamic Republic of Iran believes that implementation of the provisions of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, which was adopted on 16 December 1970, and the forging of new security structures on the basis of current realities, among other things, are essential measures and instruments for the maintenance of international peace and security.

In spite of partial progress in the field of arms control and disarmament between the two super-Powers and the settlement of some regional conflicts, the situation in the Middle East remains dangerously volatile. Aggression and disrespect for the fundamental principles of international law, which characterize the principal sources of conflicts in this region, pose serious threats to global security. The blows to the security of the Middle East, the Mediterranean region and the world as a whole by the Zionist régime's persistence in the occupation of Palestine and the massacre of Muslim peoples are particularly striking. In the Persian Gulf region, the recurrence of another widespread aggression has engulfed the region in a new crisis. The occupation of Kuwait by Iraq, leading to the massive presence of foreign forces in the Persian Gulf, underscores the

(Mr. Naimi-Arfa, Islamic Republic of Iran)

interrelationship between the eruption of regional conflicts and their adverse impact on international security, on the one hand, and the grave consequences of total disregard for internationally accepted rules and principles, including respect for the internationally recognized boundaries and non-use of force for the settlement of disputes, on the other.

One specific and effective instrument, which has long been recognized for securing global peace, is the forging of regional security arrangements. In fact, as the world moves into the new era, the preservation of regional security and the bolstering of confidence-building measures at the regional level continue to assume increasing significance.

My country's longstanding support for the establishment of a regional security system in the Persian Gulf region is quite well known. Our initiatives in this regard clearly demonstrate our commitments and endeavours to this end. On the basis of its firm conviction that the inherent weakness of security doctrines prescribed by foreign Powers resulted in a failure to realize durable peace and security in the Persian Gulf, in the early 1980s the Islamic Republic of Iran, despite being involved in an unwanted war, tried earnestly to persuade countries in the Persian Gulf to establish a collective security arrangement in order to secure peace and tranquillity in that strategic area. It was in this context that, in May 1986, the Islamic Republic of Iran presented to the Secretary-General the Regional Security Plan for the Persian Gulf, which was further elaborated in a letter in October 1986 by the Foreign Minister of the Islamic Repbublic of Iran. The essence of that plan, which is contained in document S/18381, dated 6 October 1986, was to guarantee, through a regional arrangement, the security of the important and strategic region of the Persian Gulf, which is vital to the world economy and which, for the same reason, has been the target of foreign intrusions.

(Mr. Naimi-Arfa, Islamic Republic of Iran)

The necessity for countries of the region to adopt measures for enhancing the security and stability of the region was formally underlined by the United Nations when the Security Council adopted resolution 598 (1987), in which an explicit reference was made to this issue in its paragraph 8. In my delegation's opinion, given the bitter events which countries in the region have witnessed in the past ten years, including the ongoing unfortunate events, and in view of the fact that the Persian Gulf crisis has reached a critical stage, it is high time that the Persian Gulf States move towards the institutionalization of peace and security, as well as towards the force of law, rather than the law of force, in that region. This endeavour must be guided by a careful and balanced approach. We believe that a combined approach is required with regard to the realization of this worthwhile goal. First and foremost, the occupation of Kuwait must be terminated on the basis of the relevant Security Council resolutions, the sovereignty of Kuwait must be restored and, at the same time, foreign forces must be withdrawn from that region. In addition, efforts on the part of the countries in the region should be directed towards the establishement of a regional security arrangement free of reliance on foreign Powers.

As the major country in the region, the Islamic Republic of Iran remains determined to pursue the idea of establishing a regional security arrangement by the States in the Persian Gulf region which, we believe, would serve the long-term interests of those States. Speaking before the General Assembly at its forty-fifth session, the Foreign Minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran emphasized in this regard:

"The religious, cultural and economic bonds between the countries in the Persian Gulf provide the fundamental incentives for their solidarity, and give

(Mr. Naimi-Arfa, Islamic Republic of Iran)

them the necessary capability to preserve regional security, free from the presence and intervention of foreign forces." (A/45/PV.5, p. 46)

Now I would like to highlight the views of the Islamic Republic of Iran concerning some of the essential elements and necessary measures which should be taken into account in this context.

First, there should be full respect for the principles of international law enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. In any regional arrangement, one of whose objectives is to guarantee the security of the member States, the commitments of those States to fundamental principles governing relations among States, including the sovereign equality of States, peaceful settlement of disputes, refraining from the use or threat of use of force against the territorial integrity and political independence of other States, inviolability of internationally recognized boundaries, non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, must be integral parts of the said arrangement.

Secondly, a collective security arrangement should be established. It is our firm conviction that the touchstone for a regional security concept is the establishment of such an arrangement. While guaranteeing the observance of the above-mentioned rules and principles, this system would reverse the trend of the arms race in the region and pave the way for collective action vis-à-vis external threats. Consequently, this arrangement will enable the member States to allocate an enormous part of their economic capabilities, which are now being utilized for military purposes, to actions aimed at expanding the economic, scientific and technical capabilities of the region. To strengthen this collective security system, we are of the view that such other confidence-building measures as the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East, as well as the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace, must be implemented.

(Mr. Naimi-Arfa, Islamic Republic of Iran)

Thirdly, there is the expansion of economic relations between countries in the Persian Gulf region. Obviously the lack of broad economic relations between countries located in the same region can undermine their endeavours to ensure the setting up of collective security arrangements. Thus the countries in the Persian Gulf region, by taking advantage of their existing and potential economic and trade capabilities, should extend their relations in these areas in order to increase and diversify the economic capabilities of the region. Naturally, this process could help to strengthen the pillars of co-operation in other fields, particularly political.

In conclusion, I should like to stress that the maintenance of durable peace and stability in the Persian Gulf region is among the foremost desires of my country. In our opinion, it is the responsibility of the members of the international community, including the countries in the region, to promote genuine efforts to that end.

Mr. REYES (Philippines): One of the ideas to spring from the tumult and euphoria of 1989 was "the end of history", an idea resurrected by one Francis Fukuyama from Hegel and Marx. In the events in Eastern Europe, as well as in Asia before that, he saw the emergence of the rational State as an archetypal model for all nations and as the triumph of ideals that Hegel had proclaimed as early as 1806. Now, in the midst of the Gulf crisis, we know how premature this proclamation of the end of history was and how much effort we still have to expend in order to achieve those ideals at a world level. Still, Fukuyama's germinal thesis illustrates for us the desire of nations and individuals for a new world view and a method by which we could interpret today's events in a rapidly changing world.

(Mr. Reyes, Philippines)

That desire has been anticipated in the First Committee. In previous debates we spoke of security as being broader than simply its military component and of the need for consideration of such factors as economic, political, social, humanitarian and environmental security.

Of late we have spoken increasingly of the need for collective security. The joint United States-Soviet statement issued on 3 October 1990 says:

> "The United Nations is fast becoming a real centre for agreed common actions and the Security Council is re-establishing its crucial role in the maintenance of international security, peaceful settlement of disputes and prevention of conflicts." (A/45/598, annex, p. 3)

An accord such as that reflected in this statement bodes well for issues of peace and security. The absence of this basic agreement during the years of the cold war may well have led to what the same document refers to as "rhetorical excess" and "duplicative programmes and activities" (ibid.). Indeed, in our proceedings on disarmament, which have just been concluded, we noted an even greater sense of consensus and pragmatism.

Nevertheless, many issues of disarmament remain unsettled, and vigilance will still have to be exercised in respect of them, even while we are redefining our approach to and our concepts of security. Among these issues are the need for a comprehensive test-ban treaty - a matter that was also addressed at the Non-Proliferation Treaty Fourth Review Conference and will be the subject of our attention at the 1991 partial test-ban Treaty Amendment Conference.

It is a matter of regret to us that, according to documentation submitted by the Soviet Union, a nuclear test was conducted in that country on 24 October 1990

> "for the purpose of increasing the reliability and safety of nuclear weapons." (A/45/129/Add.2)

(Mr. Reyes, Philippines)

We might recall that on the same date last year a nuclear weapon was tested in the South Pacific by France. Indeed, it was on United Nations Day that both of these tests were carried out - a juxtaposition that makes them all the more regrettable. In our context, if there is any day that should be kept sacrosanct it is 24 October - just as we reserve 6 August exclusively for recollection of Hiroshima.

So far this year all the nuclear Powers together have carried out 17 nuclear tests, including eight conducted by the United States. That is 17 too many. The continued development and testing of nuclear weapons is hardly a good example to countries that would like to develop their own nuclear weapons, as is alleged of those involved in the present Middle East crisis.

Here we may take a cue from Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar, who, speaking during Disarmament Week on the topic of non-proliferation, said:

> "It is my hope that the widespread community of views existing on this issue will be extended to the thorny question of the cessation of nuclear testing. I have repeatedly underlined the desirability of a comprehensive test-ban treaty, and I urge that all sides seek to make progress on this sensitive and heretofore intractable question." (A/C.1/45/PV.17, p. 13)

It would be a major confidence-building measure on the part of the nuclear Powers if they were to stop testing, especially at this point. It would certainly bolster our sense of security and confirm the stability of progress achieved in recent times.

We welcome the signing, in Paris last week, of the first Treaty on the reduction of conventional armed forces in Europe. The institutionalization of security arrangements in Europe through the Paris Summit of the States participating in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) confirms a new security order in this region. In agenda item 68 - "Strengthening

(Mr. Reyes, Philippines)

of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region" - we touch on one important part of that region.

The Philippines has had vital historical and cultural links with countries of the Mediterranean and considers the security of that area a key to achieving global security. It therefore supports the efforts of the countries in the region to strengthen security and co-operation - a goal expressed through the third ministerial meeting, in Algiers, of the Mediterranean non-aligned countries; the meeting on the Mediterranean, at Palma, Majorca, of the CSCE participating countries; and the meeting, in Rome, of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the 10 countries of the Western Mediterranean. All of these meetings were held this year.

The Mediterranean - the "sea in the middle" that has played such an important role in man's history and has nurtured so many civilizations - promises to play yet another part, this time in our present renewed quest for a pax humana.

From the vantage point of the Pacific Ocean - another lake that has witnessed history and civilization - the Philippines views the issues of regional and global security as being inextricably related. The road to global security passes through regions, and we cannot abdicate our own responsibilities, whether in the Mediterranean, the Middle East, the Indian Ocean, East Asia or South-East Asia. Proliferation, for instance, is an issue that concerns all; it is not limited to any class or category of weapon. Power, on the other hand, is relative, and one State may be a super-Power in a region in the context of the size or strength of its neighbours.

This lends even more relevance to agenda item 69 - "Review of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security". After 21 years of consideration, this agenda item is seen in a new light in what has been termed the post-confrontation era.

(Mr. Reyes, Philippines)

The Asia-Pacific region is also in search of its own security arrangements for the 1990s and beyond. The Philippines welcomed a regional meeting on confidence- and security-building measures in Asia, under the auspices of the United Nations Department for Disarmament Affairs, at Kathmandu, Nepal, from 29 to 31 January this year. It also looks forward to a United Nations regional seminar on security and disarmament in the Asia-Pacific region, to be held in Bandung, Indonesia, in January 1991.

This answers in part a proposal, made by the Philippines in our disarmament debate this year, on the need for continued dialogue on the issue of new regional arrangements for peace and security in Asia and the Pacific.

In the same statement we presented our stand on the closing down and conversion of military bases in the country, bearing in mind two important clauses in our Constitution. The first of these clauses provides that

"The Philippines, consistent with the national interest, adopts and pursues a policy of freedom from nuclear weapons in its territory."

The second clause says:

"After the expiration in 1991 of the Agreement between the Philippines and the United States of America concerning military bases, foreign military bases, troops or facilities shall not be allowed in the Philippines except under a treaty concurred in by the Senate and, when the Congress so requires, ratified by a majority of the votes cast by the people in a national referendum held for that purpose, and recognized as a treaty by the other contracting State."

(Mr. Reyes, Philippines)

That provision merely underscores the sovereign character of the Philippines as a contracting party in future negotiations, thus making up for the unequal economic and political situations of the Philippines and the United States when the bases Treaty was signed in 1946 as the Philippines was just emerging from the chaos of the Second World War.

While seeking to pursue the national interest on issues of peace and security, the Philippines also works actively with its neighbours on security issues of vital interest to the region. Within the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) it has sought to intensify efforts to achieve a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality. It has also co-operated with its partners and other interested parties in attempting to achieve a just and lasting peace on the Indochinese peninsula, in the absence of which such a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality would be difficult to achieve.

The Philippines thus regards with interest the proposal made in the Soviet Union's memorandum entitled "The United Nations in the post-confrontation world" (A/45/626) on the preparation of a comprehensive United Nations study on ways of establishing a regional security structure with the United Nations performing the central role. The Philippines would be ready to participate in such a study when circumstances make it possible.

Our third agenda item, item 70, entitled "Implementation of the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace", finds an appropriate denouement this year. We are grateful to the sponsors of the relevant draft resolution for their skilful and fitting handling of this issue. For years, people have pondered the conundrum of life in peace and what the preparation of societies for such a life would consist of. As we view the colourful evolution of society in Eastern Europe we now realize that, just as there can be no end to history, a life in

(Mr. Reyes, Philippines)

permanent peace is not something one can really prepare for. While delightful, life is turbulent, unpredictable and varied. Peace is always something we are striving to bring forth, something that is achieved with great effort.

Surely we are not witnessing the end of history, but its beginning.

Mr. BENDJAMA (Algeria) (interpretation from French): As it debates international security items this year, the First Committee is taking stock of the dizzying speed of the political changes that have wrought such a radical change in the world, as well as of the persistence of major challenges that must be met for the good of mankind.

In this forum we have voiced our ardent hope for those changes by constantly calling on the super-Powers to drop their futile ideological antagonism and to cease their frenzied and useless race to gain military superiority.

We have voiced our ardent hope for those changes by calling on the super-Powers to develop a tradition of dialogue and to commit themselves jointly to form a true front for world peace.

We have called for those changes also for the sake of battered peoples whose freedom to choose their own social model had been confiscated by régimes born of ideological and strategic competition, so those peoples could at last regain their freedom and build their future in the framework of a democratic national process free from any foreign interference.

Finally, we have demanded those changes to promote the negotiated settlement of what are still coyly referred to as "local or peripheral conflicts". While "local or peripheral", those conflicts are none the less charged with suffering, anger and injustice.

How far we have come in one year: As mutual confidence gained ground, the two major Powers committed themselves to a significant effort to reduce their offensive military capabilities and radically redefine their geostrategic concepts.

(Mr. Bendjama, Algeria)

The military alliances born of the cold war have begun a process aimed at the outright disintegration of one and at the conversion of the other into a political structure. And Europe, the scene of the two bloodiest wars in human history, has begun to lay the foundations of the common European home that will transcend borders and national antagonisms.

It is clear that this new international political climate has also led to real progress towards the settlement of conflicts remaining from the cold war period and towards the establishment of dialogue where attempts at a military solution have for so long demonstrated their foolishness. In Cambodia, Afghanistan, Central America and southern Africa, peoples battered by long years of imposed war are hoping to be able soon to devote themselves fully to economic and social development.

How far we have come in one year - yet how many challenges old and new remain for the international community to face. First and foremost among them is that of participation by all States in this new concept of the world order, an order that must be universal in its actions and global in its approach. No State or group of States, regardless of power, will ever be so strong or so infallible that it can do without the active contribution of the rest of the international community to efforts to achieve world peace. If that peace is to be shared, it must involve a common effort.

Which framework could be better than the United Nations for that joint effort? My country firmly believes in the virtues of multilateralism, to which it has been committed since its accession to independence. We remain convinced that in the current process of redefining the international landscape we cannot permit a few to claim the leading roles while the vast majority of mankind is relegated to the passive role of spectator, or even to the role of designated victim of a world undertaking reform without it.

(Mr. Bendjama, Algeria)

My country therefore shares the Secretary-General's view about the need for the international community to support the decisions of the Security Council. The great majority of us have welcomed with satisfaction the new effectiveness with which that important United Nations organ has dealt with the Gulf crisis, and its determination to ensure the primacy of international law and the principles of the Charter. We hope the Security Council will show the same determination in implementing its decisions on all questions of international peace and security, some of which go back several decades.

In that connection, I wish again to voice the intense feelings of injustice and frustration of Arab public opinion at the inability of the Council to take any concrete action on the situation in the occupied Arab territories or on the settlement of the Middle East conflict on the basis of the recognition of the Palestinian people's legitimate right to self-determination. The intifadah, soon to enter its fourth year, has already provided a perfect illustration of the determination of the Palestinian people to free itself from the yoke of occupation and to establish a State of its own on its lands, which have been usurped.

(Mr. Bendjama, Algeria)

There is another challenge, another danger, in the deepening of the North-South split, a split which has become increasingly evident since the end of the East-West confrontation. If we are not on our guard, mankind will find the world irremediably divided into a northern sphere of peace jealously guarding its political stability and economic prosperity, and a crushing majority of countries confronting chronic political instability, insupportable foreign debts and shrinking commercial outlets - factors which, as everyone admits, make all efforts to achieve economic or social development completely futile.

This situation also presents a danger for international peace and security in the broadest sense, and our Assembly has already been urged by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries to give thought to drawing up and implementing suitable policies, at both the international and the regional level, to resolve the differences in economic and social development between the various regions of the world.

My country, by an accident of geography, is on the boundary of this North-South split. Having become aware very early of the potential dangers that split, my country, together with the other Mediterranean non-aligned countries, embarked on an intensive process of examining and making proposals on the substance of a political dialogue on transforming the Mediterranean into a zone of peace and co-operation.

Last June my country acted as host to the third conference of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Mediterranean non-aligned countries, at which an important declaration on the prospects for a global dialogue on security and co-operation in the Mediterranean was adopted. The declaration stresses that the considerable progress made in Europe within the framework of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) had substantially improved opportunities for more

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intensive and wide-ranging co-operation between the Mediterranean countries with a view to strengthening security, lessening tensions and resolving crises and conflicts.

In this context, the Ministers expressed their support for the proposal, put forward by Italy and Spain, to establish a conference on security and co-operation in the Mediterranean, on the model of the CSCE. That conference will certainly provide a valuable forum for dialogue through which to draw up a new model for relations in the Mediterranean region as a whole aimed at stability, prosperity and support for democratic processes, economic reforms and development for the countries in the region.

The Ministers also welcomed the declared objectives of the revitalized Mediterranean policy of the European Community, and requested its rapid implementation, together with the economic assistance entailed, in line with the real potential of the European Economic Community (EEC) and the development needs of the Mediterranean non-aligned countries.

Since the declaration was adopted, the troika of the Mediterranean non-aligned countries and the representatives of the EEC have maintained constant contact. A meeting at the ministerial level is already planned for the beginning of next month for thorough consideration of the various aspects of co-operation aimed essentially at promoting stability, security and peace in the region.

As regards the Maghreb, my country is firmly committed, together with its neighbours, to the fulfilment of the most profound aspiration of our peoples to a common future. The objectives are being spelled out and the means prepared for welcoming the inevitable advent of a union which has always been inherent in a single cultural heritage, but which is to be found today to an even greater extent because of the demands of a major economic challenge, which make the formation and integration of large-scale groupings indispensable.

(Mr. Bendjama, Algeria)

Together with the rapid establishment of sectoral frameworks for co-operation and harmonization, the Maghreb countries have embarked on a new approach to their relations with Europe, in particular the countries on the northern coast of the western Mediterranean. A sustained process of harmonization in the subregion resulted last week in the Rome meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the 10 countries involved.

Recalling their countries' dedication to the principles of the universality and indivisibility of security in the Mediterranean area, the Ministers agreed to draw on the particular characteristics of the western Mediterranean in order to make the region an area of peace, stability and co-operation. They recognized that the existing large gaps between development levels north and south of the Mediterranean cause imbalances that create serious dangers for the stability and well-being of the whole region. The Ministers showed great determination in demonstrating regional solidarity in order to avoid marginalizing the countries of the south and gradually to redress the imbalance in development levels. A suitable framework is now in place for the strengthening of the political dialogue and through which to channel collective efforts to promote economic, cultural and social development in the western Mediterranean.

There are plans for the Ministers to meet again next year in Algiers to maintain the dynamism of dialogue, harmonization and co-operation, which we believe should be global in nature, covering political, security, economic, cultural, demographic and ecological parameters.

If I have dwelt at such length on the process of multifaceted co-operation that is now coming into being between the northern and southern shores of the Mediterranean, it is in order to illustrate clearly the immense possibilities of regional co-operation in matters of security and development. The ending of

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ideological antagonisms has opened up unexplored areas in which we can promote, from a common centre outwards, the ideals common to all the peoples of the region.

If we are to transcend national egoism and learn to work together, the political will is necessary at every stage. Today, that political will undeniably exists on both sides of the Mediterranean, and we welcome this. We hope that this pooling of our energies will enable us to bring about rapprochement once and for all between those on the two sides of the Mediterranean, thus enabling our peoples to embark, with no turning back, on an era of peace, stability and social progress.

Mrs. RAZAFITRIMO (Madagascar) (interpretation from French): All the preceding speakers have stressed the profound changes that have taken place in various regions of the world especially in Europe, as well as on the international scene in general during this year, 1990 - a year that has been marked by significant events in this major, long-term undertaking: the maintenance of international peace and security - to which the United Nations has been devoting itself since its inception.

Thus, what was unthinkable only yesterday is a fact today: last March the international community welcomed Namibia's independence, achieved after a bitter national liberation struggle; this year we all welcomed the release of Nelson Mandela after 27 years of imprisonment; and almost two months ago Germany was reunited.

A new era of dialogue and international understanding is emerging, on the one hand because of the growing improvement in the climate of relations between the super-Powers, and on the other because of the continuous, tireless efforts by our Organization. Considerable progress has been made towards the settlement of regional conflicts that have endangered and undermined international stability because of the threat of general conflagration they have posed for the world. In this context I wish to mention the Taif Agreements and the continuing work done by the Arab Tripartite Commission. Those are victories on the path to the restoration of Lebanon's integrity and stability. I wish to refer also to developments with regard to the question of Cambodia embodied in the basic agreement which was reached last August between the five permanent members of the Security Council and should provide the framework for a comprehensive political settlement in South-East Asia.

(Mrs. Razafitrimo, Madagascar)

In the area of disarmament, a whole series of treaties, agreements and conventions has been achieved before our very eyes over the past two years. The most recent is the Treaty on the reduction of conventional armed forces in Europe, signed on 19 November this year in Paris, which has been added to those that have for some time now been emerging from bilateral Soviet-United States negotiations. We have also noted the increasing number of international meetings and consultations on matters relating to disarmament and international security. That is the result of a much wider awareness of the need to base our security system not on military deterrence but on disarmament and mutual trust, with an increasing focus on the problem of international weapons transfers and, consequently, a slowing down of the arms race. The next gathering in this connection - announced last Monday by the Ambassador of Malta - is the meeting of experts of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe on the peaceful settlement of disputes, to be held in Malta in January 1991.

But, simultaneously, the escalation of the Gulf crisis following the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq has brutally reminded us that there still exist in the world areas in which the fundamental principles of the San Francisco Charter are being trampled underfoot, often engendering conflicts of interest that are not always justified, since national convenience or political or strategic, or even ethnic, rivalries continue to prevail over the most basic rights. The fraternal people of Palestine continue to suffer the consequences of this, and there are other regrettable examples - on the African continent and elsewhere. The present Gulf crisis is all the more disquieting because it has caused latent animosities to surface and is stirring up various hotbeds of tension.

Furthermore, we must recognize that the spectre of nuclear weapons continues to haunt us, despite repeated efforts and appeals by countries in regions or zones

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that have been declared nuclear-free, such as Madagascar. Furthermore, we deplore the fact that the Conference on Disarmament has not yet achieved results on the subject of chemical weapons.

Finally, there is no need to point out that there are still many violations of human rights in the world.

The world economic situation remains of concern in various respects and could become a factor of political destabilization at both the national and the international levels. The very viability of the era of peace we have entered could be compromised by the chronic and constantly widening gap between the developed and the developing economies, whereas, paradoxically, statistics last year indicated an increase of 4.3 per cent in the production rate of the world economy and an increase of 8.3 per cent in world trade.

To this disastrous picture we must add poverty, injustice, malnutrition, illiteracy, underdevelopment, inequality of resources and racial and religious discrimination, as well as the new challenges posed by the degradation of the environment, drugs and modern diseases.

This means that there are many factors destabilizing world peace and that the results attained have not always been commensurate with the hopes aroused by the relaxation of tension between the two super-Powers and by the changes that have taken place, the most spectacular of which has no doubt been the demise of bipolarity and the attendant general consensus on the need to think and act jointly with regard to the future, on an equal footing and the prevalence of relationships of force over State sovereignty.

Indeed, with the dawning of our post-confrontation era, a new global and multidimensional approach is needed if world peace and lasting stability are to be established in a new climate of co-operation and concerted action. Interdependence means that the building and management of the world will no longer be the exclusive

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preserve of a few privileged States but will require a just and equitable political and economic system. Let us not be mistaken: this system certainly confers rights, but it also and above all entails logical and simple obligations: listening to others, shouldering one's respective responsibilities. The latter obligation tacitly implies a change in a mentality bounded by this past that never leaves us and this tutelary shadow that hangs over us. With regard to Africa, we are pleased to note that efforts to that end continue. Faced with the plight of the Liberian people, for example, the countries of the Economic Community of West African States, not willing to be bypassed by events, took it upon themselves to dispatch a mediating force designed to end the massacres of innocent civilians.

In joining the United Nations, Member States took on a collective responsibility embodied in the provisions of Article 1 of the Charter. For its part, Madagascar will respect its commitment to help to

> "maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace".

We shall do all that through the United Nations, which, for us, continues to be the appropriate, universal forum, entrusted with preventing and eliminating threats to international peace and security.

We view this commitment in terms of strengthening the role and effectiveness of the Organization and its main organs as well as the role of the Secretary-General, in conformity with the purposes and principles of the United

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Nations Charter, in order to ensure that the Organization will make rational and productive use of its potential to meet the profound and radical changes that are under way and that will inevitably affect our future prospects and the role we are all called upon to play together.

With regard to the Security Council, together with consolidating the Council's successes in the settlement of certain regional conflicts, we could place more emphasis on the opportunities it offers in the area of prevention and could envisage making it a crisis-prevention centre.

Indeed, we remain convinced that the United Nations is the best framework for constructive dialogue with a view to maintaining international peace and security. The course of history has shown that the United Nations can make an effective contribution in this respect and that, if the will to do so exists, selfish interests can give way to the interests of the community.

The meeting rose at 12.20 p.m.